1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF CAUTINCHE

621
•162
592

In 1948 the reduction consisted of 111 people who were distributed among seventeen houses (Table II).

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF CAUTINCHE'S POPULATION[3]

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	8	10
2	1	1	3	5
3	1	1	2	4
4	1	2	4	7
5	2	1	2	5
6	1	1	4	6
7	1	1	2	4
8	1	0	3	4
9	1	1	1	3
10	1	2	6	9
11	2	2	9	13
12	1	1	4	6
13	2	2	3	7
14	1	1	2	4
15	1	1	4	6
16	1	1	3	5
17	1	2	10	13
Totals	20	21	70	111

Two households contain as many as thirteen inmates each, and one has as few as three, but the average is six and one-half.

[3] The house numbers follow the scheme used in Figure 4. The system of numbering is entirely arbitrary and is used simply for convenience in making references.

Readers are reminded that statistical data obtained from natives are not always entirely accurate.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

Every dwelling has at least one child, and only a single household lacks an adult woman. No more than three residences shelter two adult men, which indicates that there are no long-standing bachelors and which also serves to show how little is left of the traditional unilocal household system. There are very few spinsters and no unmarried widows or divorcees.

TABLE III

NATAL RESERVATIONS OF CAUTINCHE WIVES

PRESENT WIVES	FORMER WIVES	TOTAL	NATAL RESERVATION
6	2	8	Carrarriñe
3	2	5	Boldoche
1	3	4	Romulwe
1	2	3	Cautinche
1	2	3	Chivilcoyam
0	2	2	Denencuhue
0	2	2	Malalche
0	1	1	Huichicon
1	0	1	Coigue
0	1	1	Curaco
1	0	1	Peyuko
1	0	1	Pemuche
1	0	1	Catrimalal
1	0	1	Cuelche
Totals 17	17	34	

The practice of polygyny still exists, but seems to be falling into disuse. It was reported that in the recent past men with two or three wives occupied houses Nos. 5, 7, 10, 11, and 17,[4] but at present only occupants of Nos. 4, 10, and 11 are reported to have two wives each. It is worthwhile to analyze the marriage arrangements a bit more, in the light of the general discussion in the preceding chapter. At one time or another the seventeen male householders have married a total of thirty-four women.

[4] Doubtless, Cautinche's first two *kuñas* had multiple wives but, since exact information was unobtainable, they are not included in this discussion.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF RENACO

621 ●162 592 Renaco's population distribution conforms closely to the pattern described for Cautinche and Carrarriñe. There are fifty-six people grouped into nine households, an average of slightly over six to a dwelling. The number of adults of each sex and the proportion of adults to children may be seen in Table VI.

There are several unusual household combinations in Renaco. House No. 4, for instance, contains a bachelor, his unmarried

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF RENACO'S POPULATION

House No.	Adult Men	Adult Women	Children	Total
1	1	1	4	6
2	1	1	6	8
3	1	1	5	7
4	1	1	2	4
5	3	1	2	6
6	3	3	1	7
7	2	2	2	6
8	1	1	3	5
9	2	3	2	7
Totals	15	14	27	56

sister, and a young brother and sister. Informants said of this householder, Domingo Huenchual, that "he did not wish to marry." A male *machi*, José Teuque, used to occupy structure No. 5, but long ago he moved to Argentina. The house now shelters Francisco Villegas with his wife, two children, and two bachelor brothers. In No. 6 there lives a couple with one small child, two unmarried grown sons, and two unwed adult daughters. Of the four children belonging to the couple in No. 7, one is a bachelor and one a spinster. 592 621

Only a single case of polygyny was noted at Renaco. The chief, who lives in No. 1 with one wife, has a second wife in No. 162 595

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

9. Here she resides with a married son and his wife, a bachelor son, an unwed granddaughter, and two small grandchildren. All the women married to Renaco men come from outside reservations, but two brothers from houses Nos. 8 and 9 selected wives from the same place. Like Carrarrifle, Renaco has a fairly high number of unmarried adults of both sexes.

G21
162
542
545

A SOCIOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION

G21
179

When one reviews all the evidence supplied by informants with respect to the origins of the three reservations studied in this chapter, one finds a great many varied data among which a fairly consistent pattern may be detected. It is impossible to reconcile all the disagreements of time and circumstance noted, but if one selects some of the relevant statements that were made, a reasonably clear hypothesis can be put together. Without further apology, the following reconstruction is tentatively offered.

About 1800 a band of Araucanians settled at Nacimiento, near the Bio Bio River. Among them were members of the Painemal, Collio, Nahuelhual, and Huenchual families, all of whom were presumably patrilineally related. The group split about 1825, with the Nahuelhual-Huenchual segment moving to Renaco, while the Collio-Painemal people moved to Carrarrifle. In keeping with cross-cousin marriage rules, the younger Collio-Painemal men married daughters of their Renaco maternal uncles. During those years the Mapuche were not only at war with outsiders but they also seem to have had many internal quarrels, which spurred some of them to detach themselves from established communities and to seek new homes in virgin territory. One instance of this sort took place about 1850, when a dissentient from Carrarrifle, Antio Painen, left his natal region and founded a new community at Cautinche. Thus, Mapuche settlements seem to have split off from one another by a process somewhat analogous to mitosis. An original "parent cell" at Nacimiento divided into the "daughter cells" of Renaco and Carrarrifle about 1825; and approximately a generation later Carrarrifle divided to form Cautinche. The off-

3: Brand E-4 (no date) 1941 SG4 Araucanians SG4

previous census figures; and the writer is inclined to accept the number of around 500,000 claimed in March of 1941 by an Araucanian leader (Martín Collío Huaiquiñef) who helped with the census of 1940. The acceptance of such a large number rests upon (1) the wild and broken nature of much of the country in which the Araucanians reside; (2) the unwillingness of most Chileans to recognize the existence of a large Indian block of population; (3) numbers mentioned by Collío as present at markets in certain Chilean towns; and (4) the method of defining an "Araucanian Indian." It is impossible to determine a full-blooded Indian, since a mixed-blood may physically resemble a pure white, a pure Indian, or a definite mixture of the two. Possibly blood-typing might segregate the pure Indians, but only a few hundred Chileans have ever been typed. Due to illiteracy, paucity of legal recorded marriages, and lack of written records, few of the Indians and mestizos of Chile know their ancestry back three generations. It is an historic fact that Spanish conquistadores, and Chilean outlaws, squatters, and mestizos sought refuge with and settled down and intermarried with the Araucanians south of the Bío-Bío as early as the 18th century, and the process continued well through the 19th century. Further, the Araucanians carried back white and mestizo women from their raids into the Valley of Chile and elsewhere. All this has placed white blood in the veins of thousands of so-called pure Indians. However, most of this dilution seemingly has resulted in a people among whom the majority of individuals have less than one-quarter white blood, judging from the shaky evidence of physical characteristics. If we count as "Indian" anyone who physically seems to be Indian, and all who linguistically or socially are considered Indian, then the estimate of 500,000 Araucanians probably is not too high.

These Araucanians are mainly in Chile between the Bío-Bío and the Gulf of Ancud. As a result of Spanish and Chilean pressure, some Araucanian groups, probably Poiumche and Huilliche, went lands eastward whose descendants, chiefly mixed with Patagonian and Pampean Indians, still live in the Argentinian provinces and territories of Mendoza, Neuquén, Río Negro, and Chubut. Their numbers have been estimated between a few hundred and three or four thousand. Whatever groups of Araucanian tongue, Picunche and the like, once existed north of the Maule no longer exist excepting as Spanish-speaking mestizos within the great lower class of rotos (laborers, etc.) and inquilinos (poor tenants). These Indians north of the Maule had lost much of their identity as Araucanians even before the Spanish conquest, due to conquest by the Incas about the middle of the 15th century,[1] and mixture with prisoners and settlers brought to Chile from the north by both Incas and Spaniards. Upon the Spanish conquest, the Indians of the Valley of Chile were given as encomiendas to the more influential of the conquerors. Work, mistreatment, and disease killed off great num-

1. Chiefly, in the latter part of the 15th century, repeated Spanish drives south as far south as Coquimbo.

groups she is despised. One informant concluded that a man, too, can be sterile. "How else explain why a man who married five successive wives merely to have children had no child? Surely not all those women were sterile." Because of the shame attached to sterility, a childless couple usually adopts a child—three couples were mentioned as having done so recently. Sterility is a cause for multiple wives.

A medicinal preparation was known to produce sterility artificially and was given to a woman whose death had been feared at previous deliveries. Informants were unwilling to give further information about it except to say that specialists knew what to give. In all probability the ingredients used were not common knowledge. Non-Araucanian herbalists had been asked for medicinal preparations to bring about sterility. One man wanted it so soon, since his baby had just been born, and he knew the medicine had to be taken by his wife immediately after delivery in order to be effective. In Colhuipe even a man asked for such a preparation for himself; he wanted no more children; his family was already large. Sterility was not produced by treatment with foetus.

According to one of Cooper's sources (1946, p. 710) impotency was produced in an unfaithful lover in revenge by the woman who was the unmarried mother of his child. She roasted the testicles of their infant in a heated pot, as are called heifers.

Fertility, also, it is thought, can be produced by a medicinal preparation. An herbalist interviews the sterile woman and then goes home to dream. The medicinal preparation she dreams of is given to the woman. Following this the woman can expect to bear children; often the husband, too, takes the preparation. Several couples were named who had no children in spite of having taken the preparation.

An 80-year-old man, at the time of the present study, was the father of three children younger than he; they were born to his third wife, a young woman. When the last recipe of Colhuipe were died, at about the age of ten, his youngest child was 6 years old.

Artificial contraceptive devices are not known; medicinal ones are spoken of. "Specialists know what to give."

SIZE OF FAMILIES

In the days of multiple wives each wife bore her husband children, unless sterility prevented it. Often two or more years elapsed before a man married an additional woman. Generally the newly acquired wife was a young woman.

The number of children in families in areas under my observation

HRAF Ridgeway E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SC4 Araucanians SC4
Chile

varied from 3 to 10. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 50-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PRENATAL PERIOD

[illegible]

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a woman in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came on unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing these Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her calle."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

[illegible]

An unmarried expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are followed to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian Methodist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients here to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered chips and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 732) notes that Chilean Indians

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

1

Introduction

Persistent military and political pressures emanating from Chilean society culminated in the defeat of the Mapuche and their settlement on reservations in what was left to them of their ancestral territory. Among the immediate effects of peace were changes in Mapuche economic activities. These changes also had side effects which ramified throughout Mapuche society. In this chapter I consider some of the most significant effects of conquest as these have modified the total physical environment to which the Mapuche must adapt in order to survive.

THE GEOGRAPHIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC SETTING

There are an estimated 200,000 Araucanian Indians living on more than 2,000 small reservations scattered over a large area in central Chile known as the Frontera or Araucanía (see Map I). Well over half of these Indians are settled in Cautín and Malleco provinces, the heart of the indigenous zone.[1] They call themselves Mapuche, which

[1] Information kindly supplied by the *Archivero General de Asuntos Indígenas*, Temuco, Señor Osvaldo Croxatto Solari, from an official report dated October 11, 1955, states that as of that date there were 2,202 Mapuche communities with full reservation status registered in the *Juzgados* of Temuco, Pitrufquén, and Victoria, and that they had a total area of 428,808.28 hectares. Approximately 1,500 of these reservations are in Cautín Province and occupy more than 250,000 hectares.

[p. 4 is blank]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

are large level sections, but the uniformity is broken by numerous hills and spurs emanating from the Andes and the coastal mountains, especially along the southern border of Cautín Province where the two ranges abut in a narrow pass through which the central railroad runs.

The climate of this part of Chile is characterized by cool, dry summers and abundant winter rainfall. Precipitation in Cautín Province averages more than 80 inches a year, reaching more than 100 inches in the Andes and falling below 80 in parts of the Central Valley which lie in the rain shadow of the coastal range. The average temperature is about 65 degrees Fahrenheit in the warmest month and about 50 degrees in the coldest, indicating no great range of variation throughout the year. Temperature ranges are conditioned both by altitude and proximity to the Pacific Ocean. Winter snows occur in the Andes and their foothills, while freezing temperatures are rare in the Central Valley and along the coast.

The bulk of the population, both Mapuche and Chilean, is found in the Central Valley. It is here that most of the Chilean cities and towns are situated. While the largest number of reservations are found in this sector of Araucanía, it is also in this region that the greatest displacement of Indians has occurred. Mapuche territory has shrunk as a consequence of its importance in the forceful control of the fighting Mapuche throughout the colonial era as well as a result of its importance in the agricultural expansion of the colonizing society after the defeat and pacification of the Mapuche in the early 1880's.

Temuco, whose population was more than 50,000 in 1953, is the capital of Cautín Province and the largest commercial and industrial center in the Frontera. It is the hub of highway and railroad transportation, the center of regional political activity, and has many schools, several hospitals, banks, industries (flour, wool, and lumber-processing plants), government railroad shops, and many retail stores.

The main railroad line runs through Temuco from north to south and has several trunks branching east and west through a number of small towns which serve as centers for shipping local produce. These towns range in size from a little more than 5,000 persons (e.g. Villarrica, Nueva Imperial) to 1,000 or less. Some of them are centers for local fairs at which animals are selected for shipment to Temuco and the cities of northern Chile. Near the Andes and the coastal mountains they also serve as repositories for timber, which is brought

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG-1

did not farm. This was considered communal land, under the jurisdiction of the chief, and was used as pasturage or exploited for timber and firewood. There was some communal grazing land on almost all reservations I visited in the region around Toltén and south of Puerto Saavedra, and in other parts of the Mapuche area where there was land not suitable for cultivation under present technological conditions.

INTERNAL DISTRIBUTION AND USE OF LAND: SPECIFIC EXAMPLES

Some figures on reservation area, population at the time of registration, and the average holdings computed for each individual — compiled in four widely spaced areas of Cautín Province — will serve to indicate the nature of land distribution by reservation.

Roble Huacho

This is a heavily populated area which lies about 12 kilometers southeast of Temuco, the provincial capital. Roble Huacho designates an agricultural area of some 25 square kilometers in which there are numerous small Mapuche reservations. The region is bounded on the north by a range of low-lying hills called *lululmawitha* (sound of the woods); on the west by two large hills somewhat similar to *lululmawitha*; and on the southeast by the Quepe River (see Map I). The following are reservations on which I worked in Roble Huacho:

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Alonqueo	513	134	*c.* 4 ha.
Necul	110	26	*c.* 4 ha.
Loncon	120	34	*c.* 4 ha.
Montero	500	102	*c.* 3 ha.

Pelehue

This region, of about a dozen reservations, lies along the coastal plain north of the town of Toltén, about 80 kilometers southwest of Roble Huacho, and not in the best wheatgrowing area. Pelehue means low-lying, swampy ground. The northern extreme of the re-

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

gion lies about three miles or so from the town of Toltén, and the down-river end almost abuts on the Pacific Ocean. The northwest side of the region is bordered by swampland of considerable extent and is part of a vast area owned partly by the Chilean government and partly by private *hacendados*. Figures for four reservations in the Pelehue region are given below.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Llancaman	293	54	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Huilcan	200	35	*c.* 5.8 ha.
Mariqueo	164	29	*c.* 5.7 ha.
Pinchulaf	140	25	*c.* 2 ha.

Villarrica

The four Andean reservations listed below lie south of Lake Villarrica, Caripan and Chanapi being in Valdivia Province. The Nahuelpan section is agricultural, although much of the land is considered marginal owing to its steepness. Cultivation is practiced on Caripan and Chanapi, but a large part of these reservations, like those in the surrounding area, is mountainous and agriculturally unproductive. Cattle raising is relatively important, and *piñon* nuts are harvested in season.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Nahuelpan, I.	1,230	51	*c.* 24 ha.
Nahuelpan, M.	150	27	*c.* 5.5 ha.
Caripan	883	39	*c.* 22.6 ha.
Chanapi	1,718	115	*c.* 14.7 ha.

Huapi

The three following reservations are among those situated on Huapi Island in Lake Budi. The region is favorable for wheat cultivation, but land is scarce. In the planting season when the Lake is at its lowest level some of the shore is used for garden cultivation. Many of the fields, where wheat and oats are grown, are quite precipitous and do not permit machine harvesting. Because of the hilly aspect of

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche
Chile SG1

the island and the complete absence of contour plowing, many fields are very badly eroded.

RESERVATIONS	HECTARES	POPULATION (*c.* 1910)	AVERAGE SIZE OF INDIVIDUAL HOLDINGS
Paillao	181	53	*c.* 3.4 ha.
Llankin	300	46	*c.* 6.5 ha.
Huenchucoi	209	88	*c.* 2.4 ha.

It is interesting that the actual number of resident Indians living on reservations in the best farming areas, for example in the Roble Huacho region, has increased only slightly since the time of *radicación* (registration), although over-all Mapuche population has increased considerably. In some regions (e.g. Toltén, south of Lake Villarrica) reservations have managed to absorb some of this increase. But in the best farming areas the excess population has been siphoned off to the cities of Chile or the farms and ranches of Argentina.

If a reservation is about to be divided into severalties, the absentees who retain any claims to land through inheritance or through affiliation with families actually in residence on the reservation will, under Chilean law and present-day Mapuche custom, be notified of the forthcoming division and are eligible to partake in the land allotment. Emigrants who return from time to time, depending on the strength of their claims to reservation land, are generally allowed to farm available fields of their immediate family or closest relatives. This is not a cut-and-dried matter, however, the decision resting with their relatives and, ultimately, with the chief and the entire community.

Through inheritance practices which have been modified both by Chilean law and the increasing importance placed on land by the Mapuche themselves, descendants of female *radicadas* (discussed later) are often able to exercise a claim to land on their mother's natal reservation. If the reservations are close together, the tendency is for a man to work these separate holdings himself, or with the assistance of maternal relatives. He is considered a *radicado* only of the reservation on which he was born, however. He might also rent his maternal holdings to another person, Chilean or Mapuche. If the holdings are widely separated a man might not raise crops for several years on a piece of land far from his home, his maternal relatives on that reservation benefiting from the land as pasturage. As far as the individual

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

abundant fertilization are the answer to the problem of declining production, but that these means to an increased yield are relatively unattainable. There is little knowledge of contour plowing, the proper application of the right kind of fertilizer, the planting of soil-enriching legumes as crops to be plowed under or grazed, the significance of deep plowing in certain soils – in short a general lack of modern technological know-how – in relation to conserving the remaining topsoil and revitalizing the fields. Soil is badly leached by heavy winter rains and much is pulverized and blown away during the dry summer months. The yield is regularly poor, the ideal return for wheat being unrealistically set at 20:1, the "good" yield, also unrealistic in view of the technology, set at 10:1, and the actual yield, generally from 3 to 6:1 – scarcely enough to last until spring. The harvests vary somewhat from year to year, depending on the amount and concentration of rainfall.

As is general in this part of the Central Valley, Alonqueo's pasture land is scarce and of poor quality. Exhausted fields are grazed bare after the harvest, while they are fallow. The relatively few animals owned by the residents do not provide enough organic matter to enrich materially the fields they graze. Caked animal dung from the corrals is usually spread in small amounts on the *chacras* or gardens, but there is not enough for use on the fields.

Of the original twenty-three families on Alonqueo, eleven are no longer represented on the reservation, although several surviving members of these who live elsewhere retain claims to a share of land should the reservation be divided. Today, there are 26 households, a resident population of 133 Mapuche, and 513 hectares under cultivation. There are 102 horned cattle, 463 sheep, and 15 horses.

At the time of *radicación* much less land was under cultivation and farming was not as intensive as it is today. The entire section south of the public road, about a third or more of the reservation area (see Map II), was not then in use, except as a wood reserve and common grazing ground. All the inhabitants lived north of where the road now passes through the reservation. Under these conditions, less land was farmed by a roughly equal number of people, and it is likely that returns were higher, that much greater use was made of wild plants, and that more meat was eaten. Higher meat consumption seems related to the notion of the "good old days" held by many of the older people.

More intensive farming and lack of soil conservation has resulted

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

The *título de merced* indicates the location of the households at the time of *radicación* (not available for Alonqueo), and the former settlement pattern can be compared to the present-day situation. Originally, there were eight households situated near the Toltén River along what is now the neighborhood ox road (see Map III). Only a single house was situated a fair distance from the river and apart from the other houses – that of the original chief. All houses were built on *altura* land, and only *altura* was farmed, the rest used for pasture.

The reservation formerly was much more heavily wooded. Religious ceremonies were held in the "deep woods" within reservation limits. Land was gradually cleared both to meet the needs of an expanding agriculture, and to provide wood for house lumber, fences, the manufacture of charcoal, and firewood for home use and sale in the town of Toltén. Even today, slash-and-burn methods are frequently used to clear land for farming. In 1953 land was being cleared in this manner on several reservations in the Pelehue region. Some of this was incidental to the manufacture of charcoal, but a large part represented agricultural expansion and the establishment of new households.

At present there are 16 households on the reservation, double the original number. Population has increased from 54 individuals to 82, not including the 19 adult absentees from the resident families. The average individual holdings of 5.5 hectares computed at the time of *radicación* (very little of which was in crops, as has been mentioned) now stand at an average of 2.2 hectares of crop land (or a little more than 3.5 hectares of the total land) per individual – less than the Alonqueo average. The residents are not hopeful that large-scale clearing or reclaiming of uncultivated land can be accomplished without mechanized equipment.

Land is much more evenly distributed on Llancaman, although there is some disparity. New land can be opened and is being cleared on a small scale. The prospects of Indian farming seem not bright enough, however, to hold down absenteeism. If the population increases and the community endures as a reservation, it is likely that all land that can be reclaimed from the woods and swamps will eventually be put under production. One way this could happen is through government assistance, especially in the removal of large tree stumps and the installation of drainage canals. Arrangements cannot be made with *hacendados* in the region to undertake this work. One reason for this is that the Mapuche are unable to pay rental on the machinery

[1 i.e. Llancaman -- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

distribution of farmland, cattle, and so forth, the reader may consult Chart 3 in Appendix B. There is an equitable apportionment of land. Again, as was noted for Llancaman, there is the notion that so-and-so many hectares are "held" and so-and-so many "occupied," the latter having been cleared and put into crops. *División* is desired by not more than two or three inhabitants – people who want to sell their land and move off the reservation. The people rather solidly support their chief, largely because he is an important ritual leader, although it is recognized that he is ineffectual in obtaining help from the government. Most people put their hope of dealing successfully with the Chilean government in the chief of Llancaman, who has recently become a minor government official.

Reservation M. Nahuelpan: Llumalla (Andean) Region

Although Nahuelpan was actually divided into severalty holdings in 1948, it is still carried on the records as a reservation *dividida*, since the inhabitants do not yet have completely free disposal rights over their land. At the time of *división* several hectares of original reservation land were ceded to a Chilean who had farmed and lived on a section of the reservation for many years. This Chilean was accorded *ocupante* status by the Chilean government, which carries the right to remain on the land with full ownership rights. There are potential *ocupantes* on a number of Mapuche reservations, who at the time of *división* will be entitled to legal claim on whatever land they have improved.

The divided reservation consists of 27 individuals, the same number of residents as at the time of *radicación*. Of the original number, however, 11 were no longer represented on the land at the time of *división*. In addition, two families have since sold out to Chileans. The total number of households at the time of *radicación* was three, today it is eight, indicating the same tendency toward neolocality and fragmentation of holdings seen on other reservations. Absenteeism is quite high.

The quality of much of the farmland on Nahuelpan is "marginal," there being few well-drained fields, most of the land lying on fairly precipitous hillsides or in swampy sectors at the base of the hills. However, the soil seems more productive than in many sections of the Central Valley. Fields are planted for two years, wheat preceding oats, and allowed to rest for the third and sometimes the fourth year. Potatoes are grown in successive years in the swampy bottom lands.

[i.e. on reservation Huilcan--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

tures which involve Mapuche-Chilean interaction in agricultural affairs.

A long-standing aim of the Chilean government has been to instill notions of private ownership of land among the reservation Mapuche, primarily so that land would become available on the open market and accrue to individuals best able to exploit it. Contrary to common opinion, Mapuche reservations are no longer being rapidly divided into severalty holdings.[1] It is true enough that a great deal of Mapuche land has been lost in the process of colonization and that some of this represents the relinquishment of severalty holdings to whites, whether through fair sale or otherwise. But a political sophistication has developed among Mapuche leaders and the trend toward widespread *división* has been checked. In this regard it is interesting to note that McBride's 1930 figures for reservation communities in Cautín Province approximate those in existence today.[2]

The very real possibility, sometimes viewed as an inevitability by Mapuche, of establishing titles of severalty bolsters the notion of private ownership and the emotional tone involved in outright possession of land. Nevertheless, the knowledge that many of their people have lost titles shortly after they acquired them leads a good many Mapuche to wish to continue living under the relative protection afforded by reservation law.

Many of these Indians, however, still regard their holdings as their inalienable property, land which will be theirs when they "are ready" for *división*. The majority of Mapuche are opposed to *división* per se, feeling it to be a governmental device for disrupting the integrity of Mapuche society. Their concern is with being cheated out of their land or falling under a tax burden which they would have to meet as freeholders. They do not wish to rush into things. They want to become educated, learn more progressive farm techniques, and so forth, before they consider *división*.

Some Mapuche, however, are eager to have land divided and to obtain severalty title to their allotment. These are usually individuals who feel they will receive a larger share of reservation land at the time of *división* apportionment, or those who merely want to sell out. Generally, on reservations where there is fairly abundant common land, there is little interest in *división*. Where land is scarce and un-

[1] See Lipschutz, 1936, especially Chaps. 6, 7, and 12.

[2] There are discrepancies in the several lists of reservation figures I have seen. McBride, 1936, listed 1,308; Lipschutz, 1936, listed 2,102 (probably including those reservations being considered for *división*).

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

of which is farmed but, owing to a partial conformance to a three-field system of rotation, not more than half of which is under cultivation in any year. In 1953, 115 hectares were being worked on half-shares. This figure represents 22 per cent of the total area of the reservation, but more than 50 per cent of the amount of land actually in crops that year.

Although this is a land-poor reservation, insofar as much of the farmland is inequitably distributed and there is little common land not yet under cultivation, more residents provide land for other individuals than seek land for themselves.

Of the twenty-six Mapuche households on Alonqueo, twelve are involved in half-share operations. They all provide land to *medieros*. A total of 52 hectares are in share with other Mapuche, some from the same reservation, and 63 hectares are shared with nonresident Chileans. Nine of these families share all the land they hold, and they work it without rest year after year. If it is fertilized, which is generally the case when the *mediero* is a Chilean, the annual returns are greater than those of coresidents who are not working in half-shares and the overwhelming number of whom do not fertilize.

These nine households account for 87 hectares of the total 115 regularly shared. This does not indicate utilization of surplus land in most cases. On the one hand it indicates poverty in production capital (seed, animals, equipment) and on the other it seems to suggest a certain dissatisfaction, usually spoken of as "progressiveness," since those who share with Chileans depart from traditional productive arrangements to profit from a more advanced technology which yields larger harvests.

On reservation Alonqueo, the *mediero* system is not very important with regard to animals. This is apparently because there is a lack of suitable pasturage in relation to the land that is annually put into crops. On the coast, in the region around Toltén, there is a good deal of land available for pasture, and cattle and sheep are importantly involved in the *mediero* system. Of the 565 animals (463 sheep and 102 cattle), only 34 sheep belong to people not living on reservation Alonqueo. As it is, the land is seriously overgrazed and no pasturage is being raised.

Reservation Llancaman: Pelehue Region. The 293 hectares comprising the reservation are not fully utilizable for agriculture under present technological conditions. One hundred eighty-one hectares are under cultivation, part of the remainder serving as pasture land.

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

613 621 361 been for the reservation system and the general lack of available land outside one's natal reservation. Even so, it is plausible to assume that some families of the original group moved out into regions which had not yet been registered. As is seen from the *titulo* records, a brother of Alonso had moved away with his family prior to the establishment of the reservation, but returned when Alonso became chief.

613 621 167 Sublineation became significant after the death of the founding chief, Alonso, when local population began to expand. Many living members of the lineage are not shown on the chart. These have moved away and are employed in cities, in the army, in the police force, and in agricultural work in Chile and Argentina. Present-day reservation [162] population is in fact about the same as at the time of the registration of the original inhabitants around the turn of the century. The natural increase has been siphoned off into the larger society, it becoming increasingly common for young women, as well as young men, to leave the reservation before marriage to seek their living elsewhere.

621 16 592 Appendix A gives the number of members for each household or compound on the reservation, tracing the modifications in family composition and reservation population since 1900. At the turn of the century there were 23 households with a population of 129. Today, there are 26 households with a population of 133. The concensus is that 23 adults who ordinarily would be included in today's households are presently living off the reservation. The latter figure seems low. Furthermore, it does not account for the complete disappearance of household groups and the numbers they would have added to the total population. As it is, more than a sixth of the total population [935] that spent most of its life on the reservation is now *in absentia*, owing primarily to poverty induced by population pressure on land, but also partly to influences stemming from Chilean society which tend to lure Mapuche to the cities.

613 622 Sublineage A on the diagram is that of Alonso, the original chief. It has undergone extinction in one branch but remains viable in the other two. José (X) is the titular chief[8] of the reservation and has within his compound the family of Curihueque, sublineage B. There has been a schismatic break between the two living branches of Alonso's sublineage, but a merging of José's branch with sublineage B. As chief and a wealthy man (*ülmen*), José dominates his compound. [648] He also engages in extrareservational politics and is a functionary of

[8] Chieftainship customarily passes from father to eldest son, but in this case Alonso's two older sons died before he did, the office passing to the youngest, José.

[See Cat. 116, pp. 229-233--- Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

reservation community is needed before application for *división* may be made. The government's intentions and hopes seem not to have changed, however. This is reflected quite graphically by the fact that a census of Mapuche lands is broken down into "reservations divided" and "reservations to be divided," the latter category including all communities now having reservation status.

The reservation policy, involving as it does the entire problem of the disposition of Mapuche lands, is the main area in which Chilean and Indian politico-legal structures overlap. National-level politics and laws have had tremendous influence on reservation political structure and legal concepts. *Admapu* (customary law) has been brought into closer approximation with the Chilean system, and the latter has made concessions to Mapuche juridical and social beliefs and practices.

Before proceeding with a discussion of Mapuche law and political organization, which cannot be divorced from the Chilean politico-juridical system, it might be well to outline briefly the Chilean governmental structure. In the first place, Chile is a republic with a National Congress, composed of a Senate and a House of Deputies, a system of courts, and a military and police organization. The nation is divided into numerous Provinces which are subdivided into Departments, Subdelegations, and Districts, each with its elected or appointed head and administrative body. An *Intendiente* heads each Province, a Governor each Department, a Subdelegate each Subdelegation, and an Inspector each District. Mapuche are Chilean nationals and, upon proof of literacy, attain with maturity the right to vote and to be elected or appointed to any of the nation's political offices. In 1953 there were two Mapuche *Diputados*, several Inspectors, a number of *regidores*, and at least one *alcalde* in Cautín Province. The then Minister of Lands and Colonization was born and spent his early years on a reservation.

Deputies are elected from one or more Departments, depending on population, there being a proportion of one deputy to each 30,000 inhabitants. In the indigenous zone, especially in Cautín Province with its estimated 100,000 or more reservation-dwelling Indians, the Mapuche are able to swing local elections, even where they are not actually in the majority, due to the existence of numerous splinter parties. They are becoming more conscious of regional-national politics and are forming vocal pressure groups, literally Indian parties, through which they express themselves on the national scene.

[Reservation Alonqueo]

CHART 1

[1] A	HOMESTEADS Adults	Minors	Absent males	TOTAL LAND Totals	Hectares	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED Sheep	Cattle	Horses	HECTARES Shared/Rented Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	ANIMALS Shared/Rented Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
1)	3	4	(4)	7	7	30	7	2	0	6M [a]	0	6M	0	x	x
2)	12	7	(0)	19	110	50	28	4	0	0	0	0	0	x	
3)	2	3	(4)	5	15	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
4)	2	2	(0)	4	14	22	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
5)	2	1	(0)	3	14	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
6)	2	0	(3)	2	20	100	5	3	0	0	0	60M	0	x	x
7)	3	2	(0)	5	25	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0		
8)	2	0	(1)	2	5	10	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
9)	3	1	(3)	4	7	20	4	0	0	8M	0	0	0	x	
10)	4	0	(4)	4	20	50	6	0	0	0	0	0	0		
11)	4	2	(1)	6	7	20	4	0	0	0	0	0	0		
12)	2	0	(0)	2	10	15	5	1	10C [b]	0	0	0	0		x
13)	3	2	(0)	5	10	10	4	0	10C	0	0	0	0		x
14)	3	4	(0)	7	46	15	0	0	4M, 10C	0	5M	0	15C	x	x
15)	3	0	(0)	3	7	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0		
16)	3	4	(0)	7	50	20	6	1	0	0	0	0	0		
17)	3	2	(1)	5	15	0	0	0	15C	0	0	0	0		x
18)	2	0	(2)	2	20	20	0	0	20M	0	0	0	0	x	
19)	1	4	(2)	5	4	0	0	0	4M	0	0	0	0		x
20)	2	2	(0)	4	8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
21)	5	2	(0)	7	15	6	2	0	6C	0	4	0	4		x
22)	2	0	(0)	2	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?		
23)	1	1	(0)	2	6	20	4	1	0	0	0	0	0		
24)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	2	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
25)	2	3	(0)	5	6	0	0	0	6C	0	0	0	0		x
26)	7	4	(0)	11	40	15	2	0	8M	0	0	0	15M	x	
	Absent				8	0	0	0	8M	0	0	0	0		x
	Absent				18	0	0	0	0	0	18C	0	0		x
	Totals														
	80	58	(25)	133	513	463	102	15	115	14	27	66	34		

[a] M = with Mapuche.
[b] C = with Chilean.

1/A [Numbers in this column correspond to households indicated on Map II (see Cat. 116, P. 32)--Analyst]

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche

311 that there is still much unfarmed land on Llancaman which is held in common pasture.

Reservation Huilcan lies just to the north of Llancaman. It has an area [133] of 200 hectares, only 75 of which are under cultivation. The topography and soil types are similar to those of Llançaman.

[Reservation Llancaman]

CHART 2

162
592
423
422
427
231
648

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND	TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
3	4	(0)	7	15	20	18	4	10C	6M	0	0	0	x	x
3	7	(1)	10	7	6	4	2	2C	3M	0	0	6M	x	
1	4	(0)	5	20	20	6	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	x
2	1	(1)	3	17	30	6	3	5M	0	0	0	3M	x	x
1	1	(1)	2	10	25	11	2	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	4	(0)	7	6	20	8	3	6M	0	0	0	0	x	
2	1	(2)	3	10	?	?	1	0	0	0	?	?		?
3	1	(0)	4	10	25	4	1	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
3	3	(2)	6	11	30	9	2	3C	2M	2C	0	0	x	
2	0	(0)	2	14	30	13	2	5M	0	5C	0	0	x	x
2	1	(2)	3	5	0	0	1	2M	0	0	0	20C	x	x
2	6	(0)	8	2	20	10	2	2C	0	0	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	8	0	0	1	8C	0	0	0	12C		x
2	6	(1)	8	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	24C		x
3	2	(0)	5	11	8	2	1	5C	0	0	0	4M		x
2	4	(0)	6	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	2M		x
Absent			0	13	0	0	0	5M	0	0	0	0	x	
Absent			0	5	0	0	0	0	0	5C	0	0		x
Absent			0	7	0	0	0	2M	0	3C	0	0	x	x
Totals														
38	48	(19)	86	181	234	98	27	80	11	17		71		

[Reservation Huilean]

CHART 3

HOMESTEADS			TOTAL LAND		TOTAL ANIMALS OWNED			HECTARES Shared/ Rented			ANIMALS Shared/ Rented			
Adults	Minors	Absent males	Totals	Hectares	Sheep	Cattle	Horses	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Rents own	Half-shares own	Half-shares other's	Internal	External
2	0	(1)	2	8	0	1	2	3M	0	0	0	27C		x
3	0	(0)	3	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	0	5C	0	0	0	10C		
2	0	(0)	2	9	0	0	0	4C	0	5C	0	11C		x
2	0	(0)	2	5	0	0	1	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	2	(0)	5	5	0	0	1	0	3M	0	0	18C	x	x
9	3	(1)	12	5	0	0	0	1C	0	4C	0	0		x
2	1	(1)	3	7	0	0	0	3M	0	0	0	18C	x	x
2	2	(0)	4	8	0	4	1	5C	"	0	0	0		x
4	0	(0)	4	5	0	0	0	1C	0	0	0	18C		x
2	3	(0)	5	6	"	0	0	1C	0	0	0	0		x
1	0	(4)	1	5	"	0	"	5C	0	0	0	0		x
3	0	(4)	3	0	"	0	"	0	"	0	0	0		x
Totals														
37	11	(11)	48	73	0	3	5	29	3	9	0	100		

162
592
423
422
427
231
648

2: Musters T-5 (1869-1870)1873
SH5 Tehuelche
Araucanians SG4

823 had been long in the family. They object strongly, however, to any strangers picking up stones as specimens, or appearing to 'prospect' in any way, which, being forewarned by Ventura Delgado, I was especially careful to
525 avoid. Mons. Guinnard has given a description of some of their games, differing from those in vogue among the Tehuelches, as for instance gambling with black and white beans. Casimiro is my authority for stating that this people
583 preserve the singular custom of abduction in marriage. The intending bridegroom does not trouble himself to obtain the consent of the bride, but having paid the fixed dowry or price to her parents, he gallops up, and forcibly seizing the girl carries her off before him to the bush, whence, after an enforced honeymoon of two days, they return as man and
[623] wife to his dwelling. This, however, is not the practice in
595 the case of the marriage of a cacique's daughters. Polygamy is allowable; thus the great Chocoque possessed three wives, the chief favourite, whose amiable good-humour deserved the honour, occupying the central place in the toldo; but all three lived in perfect harmony and took care of each other's children with impartial affection.

567 These Araucanos are, as I have said, apt to kidnap or buy
● 162 captives, and I am inclined to suspect that there is a scarcity
609 of women amongst them, of which the exterminating cruelties practised towards women and children by the frontier 'Cristianos' is a probable cause. They are certainly more dangerous to strangers than the Southern Indians, and it is unsafe to venture amongst them without proper safe conducts from the cacique.

574 To myself Chocoque offered permission to travel directly north through the interior of the country as far as the Argentine Provinces, guaranteeing my safety; and the temptation was only resisted by reflecting on the necessity of keeping faith with my Tehuelche friends by proceeding to Patagones. He also gave me a cordial invitation to return, and an assurance that I should be always welcomed